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ANCIENT and MODERN

LIBERTY

Stated and *Compar'd.*

Libertas & ſpecioſa nomina prætexuntur; ſed Libertatem preferunt, ut Imperium evertant; nec Imperii Inimici ſunt, niſi quod mutatus Princeps *Licentiam turbarum, & ex civili bello ſpem præmiorum oſtendit.*

TACITUS.

LONDON:

Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane.* MDCCXXXIV.

Ancient and Modern

LIBERTY

Stated and Compar'd.

Libertas & speciosa nomina praetexuntur; sed Libertatem praeferunt, ut Imperium exercent; nec Imperii Inimici sunt, nisi quod mutatus Princeps Licentiam tu harum, & ex civili bello spem praemiorum ostendit.

Tacitus.

London:

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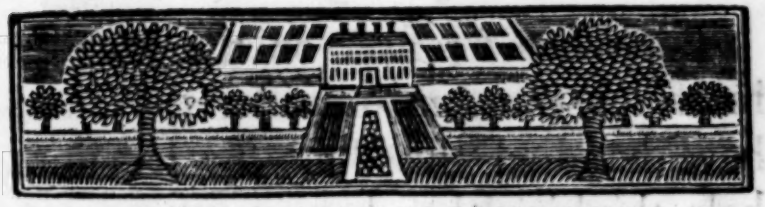

ANCIENT and MODERN

LIBERTY

Stated and *Compared.*

THE *Liberty of this Country* is ſo eſſential, both to our Grandeur as a Nation, and our Happineſs as a People, that I do not wonder thoſe, who would be glad to caſt any Odium on the preſent Government, are always endeavouring to alarm the People from that Quarter, and trying to infuſe Jealouſies on a Point, where, from the Importance of it, the People muſt be moſt ſuſceptible of ſuch Impreſſions, and moſt apprehenſive of Danger.

But when I reflect on the Manner in which the Anti-miniſterial Writers have handled this Subject, I cannot help thinking they have as often proſtituted the *Name* of Liberty, as they have abuſed the *Enjoyment* of it.

They always talk both of Liberty and Frugality in Government; as if any Society could be form'd without ſome Reſtraint on natural Liberty, or any Government ſupported without ſome Expence: whereas both thoſe things are impoſſible; and their being ſo, is a ſhort Anſwer to all the boaſted Reaſoning of that elaborate Treatiſe, call'd *The Sequel to Politicks on both Sides*; a Scheme of Oeconomy, which amounts to no more, than if, in private Life, one Man ſhould tell another, who owes twenty times the annual Income of his Eſtate; that if he would but faſt, and go naked, and live upon nothing for twenty Years together, at the End of thoſe twenty Years his Debt would be diſcharg'd. But this being a Conſideration that comes

comes not within my preſent Deſign, I recur to the Point of Liberty: And as it muſt be granted, that all Peace, all Order in Society is maintain'd by ſome Reſtrictions on natural Liberty, and that the Anarchy of natural Liberty wholly unreſtrain'd, would be as great an Evil as the Slavery of no Liberty at all allow'd; ſo the beſt regulated and beſt concerted Form of Government muſt be that which avoids the Inconveniencies of both theſe Extremes, and at once preſerves Mankind from the Oppreſſions conſequent to an abſolute Submiſſion to the Will of another, and from the Confuſion that would reſult from an unlimited Indulgence of their own.

But as there never was, nor perhaps ever will be, any Form of Government where this Medium was ſo exactly hit, as to be unliable to Objection, altho' from blended Conſiderations, and the Imperfection of every thing, it may be incapable of Improvement; ſo it is impoſſible to judge of

any human Inſtitution, any more than of any human Virtue, but by Compariſon. And as the modern Authors on this Subject have often inſiſted on the Faults of the preſent Government, by extolling the Felicity of Times paſt, and particularly on the Chapter of Liberty; ſo I ſhall endeavour to ſet that Compariſon of *ancient and modern Liberty* in as ſhort, as clear, and as true a Light, as the little Knowledge I have in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory will permit me, and the Nature of ſuch a Diſquiſition will allow.

And when People talk of *the Liberty of Old England* in Compariſon with, or Oppoſition to *That* now ſubſiſting in this Country; I cannot help thinking they either talk of what they do not underſtand themſelves, or to thoſe by whom they hope they are not underſtood: For let Men make ever ſo ſlight Reflexions on the Manner in which this Kingdom has been govern'd from *the Conqueſt* to this Day, let them but run through the Dynaſtie of the

the *Engliſh* Kings, and ſum up the Account of the Annals of each Reign; and then let any candid and judicious Commentator ſay, whether Liberty was ever at any former Period of time more amply exerciſed and enjoy'd than at the preſent Hour.

'Till the *Reſtoration* there was no ſuch thing as Liberty; *That* after the *Reſtoration* was nothing compared to the Strength it gain'd at the *Revolution*; and the Strength it then acquired, is ſo far, in my Opinion of Things, from being now impair'd, that it never flouriſh'd in ſuch full Vigor as in the happy and proſperous *Reign* of his *preſent Majeſty*.

This, not only the Friends to the preſent Government aſſert, but the Enemies to it prove, by annexing to their Complaints for the Loſs of *Liberty*, ſuch licentious Invectives againſt the *pretended* Deſtroyers, and *real* Guardians of it; that the ſtrongeſt Demonſtration that can be given of the Falſhood of ſuch Accuſations, is

their

their being utter'd every Day with Impunity. *Non modo Libertas, etiam Libido impunita: aut ſi quis advertit, dictis dicta ultus eſt.*

From the *Reſtoration* let any one caſt their Eye backward to *the Conqueſt*, and they will find whatever Changes happen'd in the Government, thoſe Changes were nothing more than from one Tyrant, or one *Kind* of Tyranny, to another. With Regard to the Perſons of Tyrants, there were glorious and inglorious, ſlothful and active, ſucceſsful and unſucceſsful, Tyrants; but there never was a Ceſſation or Relief from one ſort or other. With Regard to the Form of Tyranny, there was only the ſame melancholy Viciſſitude in the manner of oppreſſing the People, without any Suſpenſion of the Thing itſelf; ſometimes it was the *regal* Tyranny of the Prince; ſometimes the *ariſtocratic* Tyranny of the *Barons*; ſometimes (as in the Reigns of *Harry* the Second, and Queen *Mary* the Firſt) the *Eccleſiaſtical* Tyranny of

of the *Clergy*; and ſometimes all together, in their different Juriſdictions. By which means, between Monarchical, Oligarchical, or Hierarchical Oppreſſion, there was no Change but from *this* Tyrant to *that*, or from *one* to *many*; and ſo little Appearance of Liberty of any kind among the People, that to recur to what I have already ſaid, I never hear any body harangue with enthuſiaſtic Encomiums on the Liberty of *Old England*, that I am not either aſhamed of my Anceſtors for deſerving thoſe Encomiums ſo little, or of my Cotemporaries for beſtowing them ſo ignorantly.

As to the Liberty of this Country during the Domination of the *Norman Line*, every body knows it was none; the Right of Conqueſt, the Apprehenſions of the Conqueror, and the Depreſſion of the Conquer'd, made the one eager to ſecure and fix his Title, and the other too much weaken'd with inteſtine Diſputes not to ſubmit to any thing rather than re-

expoſe themſelves to the recent Miſchiefs of ſtruggling: this Diſpoſition of both made Tyranny eaſy to be exerciſed by the Maſters, and hard to be reſiſted by the Slaves; their Purſes were drain'd, their Numbers thinn'd, and their Spirits broken: foreign Families were call'd in to lord it over the Natives; and whatever was impoſed or required, the People were unable to diſpute, or afraid to refuſe.

From *William* the firſt to *Harry* the ſecond the Crown was worn by three ſucceſſive Kings, who had no other Pretence to the Crown, than the having a Mind to wear it, and finding means to obtain it: during theſe Reigns, it was *Force* only prevail'd, and the People enjoy'd *their* Right, no more than the lawful Prince did *his*.

It is true that every one of theſe three Princes did ſucceſſively promiſe the People, in order to make them acquieſce under this Uſurpation, that they would re-eſtabliſh the *Saxon Form of Government*, and reſtore all thoſe Privile-

Privileges and Immunities to the People, which were enjoy'd before the *Conqueſt*; but as they all Three made this Promiſe to facilitate and plane their Way to the Throne, ſo they all Three broke it when they were ſeated and fix'd there.

During the Reign of *Henry* the Second, (the firſt King of the *Plantagenet* Line) it is true the Crown was leſs powerful, but the People were not more free; their Condition was not better, for the King's being worſe; Eccleſiaſtical Diſputes and Family Quarrels broke and bounded his Power, without enlarging his Subjects Privileges; and whilſt he mourn'd the Loſs of the one, they ſtill groan'd under the Privation of the other.

To him that *Royal Don Quixote*, and warlike Enthuſiaſt, *Richard* the Firſt ſucceeded, who exhauſted the Treaſure of his Kingdom, to raiſe his Fame upon Earth; and ſpilt the Blood of his Subjects, to purchaſe Glory in Heaven.

In the next Reign, a Struggle for Liberty was again made, but not for the Liberty of the People; the Struggle lay between a King who had a mind to be ſole Tyrant, and the *Barons* who had long tyranniſed in their particular Diſtricts over their Inferiors, and now wanted to tyranniſe over their Superior too.

During the long ſubſequent Reign of *Harry* the Third, (that is, after the King was of Age, and the Regency of the great Earl of *Pembroke* determin'd) the Conteſt was the ſame as in the preceding Reign; and tho' by the Conduct of the Earl of *Leiceſter* the People afterward ſeem'd to have got ſome ground, by chuſing Repreſentatives who were inſtituted with a Pretence of taking care of their Rights; yet this was indeed but a ſeeming Acquiſition, and no real Advantage in preſent gain'd; for whilſt the Pretence of this Inſtitution was only the Security of the Rights, Liberties, and Privileges of the People, the true Reaſon

of their Inſtitution (as the ſubſequent Conduct of the Inſtitutor ſhow'd) was ſo like the popular Affectation, and *Patriot-Profeſſions* of a more modern Party, that this Meaſure was only taken to ſerve the ambitious Purpoſes of *Particulars*; and ended juſt as much in the Benefit of thoſe, whoſe Cauſe their Patriot-Leader pretended to eſpouſe, as the *military Project* of our *modern Patriots* (had it taken effect) would have ended in the Liberty of this Country; as the Schemes of *Pompey*, had he ſucceeded, would have ended in the Liberty of *Rome*, and the Eſtabliſhment of the Rights of the *Senate*; or as the Schemes of *Oliver Cromwell* (who did ſucceed) ended in the Honour and Intereſt of the *Parliament*, under whoſe Banner he at firſt ſpeciouſly fought, whoſe Cauſe he plauſibly pretended alone to eſpouſe, and who had only the Honour of being his laſt Victim.

The long Reign therefore of *Harry* the Third was a ſhifting Scene of va-

rious Turns, ſome in favour of an unjuſt, oppreſſive King, others in favour of a turbulent Nobility, or one able, ambitious Man; but for the poor unhappy People, whatever Spoke of this Wheel was uppermoſt, their Liberties, like the Earth, were always beneath its Revolutions, and cruſh'd by its Weight.

To *Henry* the third ſucceeded *Edward* the firſt, a great Man, and a great King; but tho' his People grew more conſiderable under him, they became not more free: The Conqueſt of *Wales*, and the Progreſs the *Engliſh* Arms made in *Scotland*, increaſed the Conſideration of the *Engliſh* Nation, but it reſtored no Privileges to the People; and tho' the national Boundaries of the *Engliſh* Dominion were ſtretch'd, the Limits of *Engliſh* Freedom were ſtill unenlarg'd; the Gates of Liberty were as cloſely ſhut, and as ſtrongly barr'd as ever; and the only Comfort of the People in this Reign was, not that the Power of the

Crown

Crown was bounded, but that it was not abuſed.

As no body will ſay the Reign of his weak and unfortunate Son *Edward* the ſecond, was a Reign of Liberty, and that I mention no Reign but with Regard to that ſingle Point, I ſhall paſs it over without any farther Comment.

King *Edward* the third, and his Son, who never was King, were both of them great and able Men; great in Action, and able in Council; *England* too was great under them, but not free; and even its Grandeur under theſe Princes, as well as under *Harry* the fourth and fifth was a dangerous Grandeur, which, tho' it rais'd the Reputation of this Country in preſent, would if it had gone on a little longer, have ended in its Ruin; for the only Difference ultimately between *France* being conquer'd by *England*, or *England* conquer'd by *France*, muſt be whether an *Engliſh* or a *French* King ſhould rule both; ſince in either Caſe,

Caſe, the Seat of Empire would be in *France*, and *England* conſequently in either would become a Province to *France*; as in two Poſſeſſions under the ſame Prince, the leſſer muſt always be a Province to the greater.

In the Beginning of *Richard* the ſecond's unjuſt, luxurious, tyrannical and ſimple Reign, one tumultuous Mob indeed under a raſh, intoxicated, ignorant Leader, made a ſhew of ſtruggling for Liberty; but all the ſubſequent Part of his Reign was Diſquiet, Confuſion and Oppreſſion, which ended in his Depoſition, and the Eſtabliſhment of *as able a Tyrant*, as ever ſat on this Throne.

The gentler Diſpoſition of this ſagacious Uſurper's great and wiſe Son *Harry* the fifth; the Succeſs of his Arms abroad, and the calmer Situation of his Subjects at home, leſs irritated by domeſtick Oppreſſion, and leſs torn by inteſtine Diviſions, made the People more happy, but made them in no one Particular more free: For tho'

the

the Expences of his rapid and extenſive Conqueſts were defray'd with leſs Charge than ſuch Expeditions and Atchievements uſually are, yet this was entirely owing to the wiſe Frugality of his own Oeconomy, to the Bounds he himſelf ſet to his Demands, and not the Limits the People preſcribed to *his* Disburſements, or *their* Donations.

In the ſubſequent Reign began the fatal Diſputes between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*; which terminated after four Reigns, and about ſixty Years, in the Eſtabliſhment of *Harry* the ſeventh; during all this Conteſt the People were ſo far from enjoying any Freedom, that they never ſo much as graſp'd at it; they fought not for Liberty but for a Maſter; and never aim'd at ſtriking off one Chain, but in order to put on another; as if it were material in Chains of equal Weight and Strength, whoſe Name was engraved on the Rivets by which they were faſtened.

Harry

Harry the ſeventh, a Prince not wanting Underſtanding, but wanting every good Quality; byaſs'd by the moſt unroyal Vices, and guilty of the hardeſt Oppreſſions and meaneſt Cruelties; found a Diſpoſition in his People, to bear far and patiently; and exerciſed their Patience accordingly; he knew they would ſubmit to almoſt any thing he would impoſe upon them, rather than venture by new Reſiſtance, to draw on again the Blows from which they were ſtill ſore, and open Wounds which were yet hardly skinn'd: and having Senſe enough to diſcern this to be their Caſe, without Compaſſion, Benevolence, or Juſtice enough to take pity of it; he choſe, inſtead of making himſelf ſafe in their Affections, (a Security, which in this Situation he might eaſily have obtain'd) to try how far they would ſuffer; and by a Series of the moſt rapacious and cruel Acts of Injuſtice, Violence, Ingratitude, and Treachery, made his Reign as dangerous and uneaſy

uneaſy to himſelf, as it was odious and oppreſſive to his Subjects.

This Man, however, by a little dirty Cunning ſhown in ſqueezing the Rich, and deceiving every body that truſted him, got the Title of *the Engliſh Solomon*; to have call'd him the *Engliſh David* would have been more appoſite, as he dy'd much more like the One, than he liv'd like the Other; by ordering his Son on his Death-bed to do by the unfortunate Earl of *Suffolk*, as *David* order'd his Son to do by *Shimei*, when after having promiſed to ſpare his Life, he commanded it by a mean, revengeful, unjuſt and cruel Equivocation, to be taken from him by another.

In *Harry* the Eighth center'd the two different Claims of *York* and *Lancaſter* to the Crown; and as he had of courſe an unconteſted and indiſputable Right, by this Union of the two Claims, to aſcend the Throne; ſo he ſeem'd to think he had an equal Privilege to do whatever he thought fit

when he was placed there; and that the People in general had no more Right to object to any Violences, his Caprice and Cruelty put him upon acting as King, than any particular Perſon had to object to his being ſo.

As his Father and Mother convey'd to him the Titles both of the *York* and *Lancaſter* Family, ſo he ſeem'd likewiſe to inherit, through them, all the Faults and Vices of both theſe Houſes; he had all the Diſſoluteneſs, the Luxury and Diſſipation of his Mother's Family, in the early Days of his Reign; and in the more advanced Part of it, all the Rapaciouſneſs and Cruelty of his Father; ſo that it was difficult to ſay which was moſt fatal to this Country, the Conteſts of theſe two Families, or ſuch a Concluſion of them.

During the Reign of this Oppreſſor of the People, this Butcher of his Wives, this Terror of the Nobility, and Scourge to all Mankind; this Dupe abroad, and Tyrant at home;

there was in *England* neither civil, nor religious Liberty; neither Liberty of acting, ſpeaking, or thinking; intimidated, ſervile Parliaments were often the Proxies of his Tyranny, but never Checks to it; they made and unmade, enacted and abrogated Laws backward and forward, juſt as his fluctuating Diſpoſition and lawleſs Will (under the Appearance of Law) dictated and ordain'd.

In religious Matters his Conduct was not leſs deſultory and tyrannic, than in regard to the Succeſſion: Reſentment to the *Power of Rome*, and Bigotry to its *Doctrines*, produced ſuch medley Work in his Councils, that notwithſtanding a Diſpoſition in the People, through Fear, to embrace any Opinion which he had a mind to recommend, and profeſs any Belief he wiſh'd to impoſe upon them; yet his Ordinances were often ſo contradictory, and often ſo unintelligible, that many miſerable Wretches were put to Death for ſaying they believed, and

many for ſaying they disbelieved, the ſame thing; whilſt others were burnt for profeſſing, contrary to his Will, what they had only profeſs'd, becauſe they thought thoſe Profeſſions conformable to it.

During the ſhort Reign of his Son *Edward* the Sixth, the Pride and Weakneſs of the *Protector Somerſet*, and the Ambition and Wickedneſs of *Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland*, ſucceſſively harraſs'd the Kingdom with all the Calamities attending a People ſqueez'd by oppreſſive Taxes, and forced into civil Wars: and tho' the bad Conduct of theſe two aſpiring Men ended in their own mutual Ruin, yet the Ceſſation of their Sway gave not to the People any Relief from thoſe Miſeries cauſed by their Authority whilſt it laſted.

It is true we owe in a great Meaſure the Benefits we at this Day enjoy from *the Reformation* to the *Duke of Somerſet*; But that this Country ſhou'd owe ſuch a Benefit originally to one of the

the worſt Kings, and ſecondly, to one of the weakeſt Miniſters that ever govern'd it, is a Reflexion that makes one wonder at the very beneficial Effects ſometimes collaterally produced from very unreſpectable Cauſes, but gives one very little Reverence for ſuch caſual Benefactors.

To *Edward* the Sixth ſucceeded his Siſter *Mary*, a devout but execrable Sovereign; for the cruel Piety of that holy Tyrant, expoſed this Kingdom to as many Misfortunes under a good Woman, as it ever felt under the worſt Man; her whole Authority was conſign'd to the Hands of *Eccleſiaſtical Governors*, who embru'd them every Day in the Blood of her unhappy Subjects: The Uſurpation of the *Lady Jane Grey*, and the ſubſequent Rebellion of *Wiat*, made perhaps ſome Executions neceſſary to ſecure *Queen Mary* on the Throne; but to theſe many more, very unneceſſary, were added, by the inexorable Spirit of perſecuting Churchmen, who ſacrificed, like

like the moſt barbarous Idolaters, whole Hecatombs of Victims, to their *edible* God, and his *infallible* Ambaſſador.

Chriſtians, profeſſing Charity, inflicted on *Chriſtians*, all thoſe Cruelties which the early Followers of *Chriſt* complain'd of receiving at the afflictive Hand of the moſt harden'd *Infidels*.

In a Reign then where abſolute Power both in Church and State, urged by *Revenge* and *Enthuſiaſm* under the Mask of *Loyalty* and *Devotion*, perſecuted and condemned the Offenders againſt an injur'd Queen, and what they call'd an injur'd God; in ſuch a Reign what Privileges and Freedom were allow'd to the People, even thoſe who are moſt unacquainted with the Hiſtory of theſe Times may eaſily imagine from the Nature of ſuch Circumſtances.

At the Concluſion of this bloody melancholy Scene (which cloſed not till the Death of the weak Bigot that open'd

open'd it) came *Queen Elizabeth*; a Woman as different from her Sister and Predeceſſor, in Underſtanding as in Religion; and one whoſe great and glorious Reign can never be unjuſtly extoll'd, but when it is call'd a Reign, where the People enjoy'd the leaſt Shadow of Liberty. Every Step ſhe took tended to the publick Welfare, the Honour of the Nation, and the Intereſt of the collective Body of her People; but was taken as abſolutely without their Conſent, as the moſt prejudicial Meaſures of any of her moſt arbitrary Predeceſſors, or Succeſſors.

She often ſent for *the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons*, and told him not only what ſhe would and would not ſuffer to be *done*, but alſo what ſhe would or would not allow to be *ſaid*; told him ſhe wanted Money, and would have it; and that *yea* or *nay* ſhould only be utter'd when it was propoſed to be given. That the Commons underſtood not State Affairs; that State Affairs were not their Buſi-

neſs;

neſs; and that it behoved them only to meddle with what was properly within their Province. She by her *Lord Chancellor* told the *Speaker*, and by *the Speaker* told *the Commons*, that they had no Right to judge of Returns in Elections, but that her *Lord Chancellor* ſhould be the ſole Judge, and determine in thoſe Caſes.

She impriſon'd Members of Parliament merely by her own Authority; forbid ſome Bills to be read in the Houſe; others to be debated there; and refuſed the Royal Aſſent twice, to above 30 Bills each Time, that had paſs'd both Houſes.

Never were the Reins of *Prerogative* held with a ſtricter Hand, or the Yoke of Slavery faſter bound upon the People's Necks than at this Period of Time; and tho' the People were driven where they ought to have choſen to go, yet they were ſtill driven; and the ſame Power that forced them into Foreign Glory and Domeſtick Proſperity, might in the Hands of a leſs skil-

ful

ful or worſe-diſpos'd Driver have forced them into the Paths of Contempt abroad, and Deſtruction at home; the ſame Method of Government purſued in the ſubſequent Reign, and the Effects of that Method on different Maxims and Policy verify this Aſſertion.

All therefore that can be ſaid with regard to the Liberty enjoy'd in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* is, that ſhe who allow'd her Subjects none, knew their Intereſt ſo well, and purſued it ſo ſteadily, that under *her* they poſſeſs'd every Good, but that of being able to make the Good they poſſeſs'd the Effects of their own Election.

To draw then a juſt Parallel between *that* Reign and the *preſent*, I think one may, by only enumerating the moſt material Circumſtances of both, without the leaſt Flattery affirm, that we now reap all the public Benefits that accrued to the Nation from her Counſels, without the latent Evil of their being forced upon us, and con-

ſequently rather inflicted than beſtow'd.

Both the *preſent King* and *Queen Elizabeth* came to the Throne with a diſputed Title, and Both on their Acceſſion found this Nation, with regard to foreign Affairs, in the greateſt Perplexity, and in the moſt delicate Situation. Both of them often found their Title ſtruck at under the pretence of National Grievances; and both ſaw through the Arts, and defeated the Deſigns of their open and ſecret Enemies; Both of them by Negotiation with all the Powers on the Continent alternately, brought this Country into ſuch a Situation, that no one Advantage the *Engliſh* could expect was left ungain'd, no Diſpute unadjuſted, and not a Court in *Europe* but ſollicited their Friendſhip, and dreaded their Enmity. The only Difference between the Advantages procured to this Kingdom by theſe two Reigns is, that as the Benefits *England* received from Queen *Elizabeth*, were only the mild

Effects of the Authority of a Princeſs who trampled on our Liberties; the Benefits we now receive, come from the Hand of the Protector and Preſerver of them: All thoſe Advantages which we were conſtrain'd to accept from the one, come recommended to us from the other; the Deliberations of Parliament go hand in hand with the King's Counſels; what his Wiſdom and Vigilance has provided and propoſed, the other has accepted and approved; the Nation has been preſerv'd without any Blow to the Conſtitution; and every Good which Queen *Elizabeth* compell'd her Subjects to receive, without the leaſt Show of Freedom, the *preſent King* has procured for them, without the leaſt Infringement of it.

There is another ſimilar Circumſtance in theſe two Reigns, which is, that in each of them, a great and able Miniſter, a faithful Servant both to the Crown and to the Publick, was, by the Diſcernment and Juſtice of

thoſe he ſerv'd, protected and maintain'd, in ſpight of all the Clamour raiſed againſt him by ſuch as look'd with equal Envy on his poſſeſſing and meriting that Favour that diſtinguiſh'd him. A wiſe and diſcerning Prince always knows that Envy muſt follow Favour, and Clamour, Envy; conſequently, that he muſt never judge of the Merit of his Servants by the Degree of Clamour againſt them, which will generally be in proportion to the Degree of Favour, but by examining the Truth or Falſhood of the Charge laid againſt them; and in this Situation alone can be ſeen the true Reſolution and Prudence of a *Sovereign*; for to yield to Clamour for no other Reaſon than merely becauſe it is Clamour, is Weakneſs; and to reſiſt it for no other Reaſon, Obſtinacy. Queen *Elizabeth* and King *Charles* the Second are two Examples of the different Conduct of a wiſe Queen and a weak King on this Occaſion; King *Charles*, meanly for himſelf, and ungratefully

gratefully to his juſt, able, and faithful Servant, gave up my Lord *Clarendon*, and by ſo doing brought himſelf into Diſtreſſes that ended but with his Life; Queen *Elizabeth* continu'd *Burleigh* in that Favour that ended but with hers.

To Queen *Elizabeth* ſucceeded the Original of that equally unhappy and undeſerving Race of *Stuarts*, King *James* the Firſt: His Reign and his Son's were one continued Series of Folly and Injuſtice; and Queen *Elizabeth* the Cauſe of moſt of the Misfortunes that befel either them or their People. For theſe Princes imagining they had a Right to keep up the *Prerogative* at the Mark they found it, thought of nothing *but* their Prerogative, and vainly imagin'd the Nation would ſubmit to the ſame Stretch of the Prerogative when exerciſed to their Infamy and Ruin, under which it had acquieſc'd when employ'd for their Glory and Proſperity.

The Conduct of *James* and *Charles* the Firſt in this particular, was a little like a more modern Prince upon the Continent, who affects acting with the ſame haughty Carriage, and on the ſame deſpotic Principles that were practiſed in the Court of *Charles* the Fifth, without either his Power, his Purſe, or his Underſtanding: in like manner did theſe proud, vain, ambitious, weak Kings endeavour to tread the Paths of Queen *Elizabeth*, without either her Head to conduct them in thoſe Paths, or ſuch Miniſters, as ſhe made uſe of, to aſſiſt them.

I ſhall enter into no particular Detail of the Oppreſſion and Deſpoticiſm of theſe two Reigns; the Notoriety of the Facts makes it needleſs; and with regard to the Struggle made for Liberty when the People could bear no longer the lawleſs oppreſſive Conduct of King *Charles* the Firſt, tho' that Struggle free'd them from his Tyranny, it was far from procuring them that Freedom for which it commenced; their

their *Deliverer* became their *Undoer*, and an abſolute *Stratocracy* was the only Exchange they made for an abſolute *Monarchy*. I cannot help here obſerving, that when the Patriot-Reformers of thoſe Days, call'd *Levellers*, poſted up their Declaration at *Banbury*, three of the four Articles of which, according to *Whitlock*, that Declaration conſiſted, were theſe:

1ſt, *Againſt the preſent Parliament and their Proceedings.*

2dly, *Againſt the Council of State.*

3dly, *Againſt the Council of the Army.*

I muſt add too, that this Declaration was made juſt after *theſe Levellers*, in modelling the Government, had agreed that *no Exciſe ſhould ſubſiſt above four Months after the Commencement of the next Parliament.*

No publick Officers of Salary ſhould be capable of being choſen at the next Election.

No Members of one Repreſentative to be choſen of the next.

The

The next and future Parliaments to be annual.

Not to depend longer on the uncertain Inclination of Parliament.

Tythes not to continue longer than the next Repreſentative.

Every Pariſh to chuſe their own Miniſter, and no Pariſh to be forced to pay him.

And no one to be exempted from Offices on account of Religion.

If there is any Conformity between theſe Sentiments and Meaſures, and thoſe of any other Set of Men at preſent ſubſiſting; if theſe Levelling Texts to reforming Diſcourſes, have been adopted by more modern *Lay-Preachers*, and ſerv'd for the Heads of all the late political Sermons of the *Craftſman*, for this laſt Year, every Reader will anticipate any Reflexion or Application I can poſſibly make of what I have here quoted, and their own Memory of ſuch recent Performances muſt conſequently make any Refreſhment to it unneceſſary.

I ſhall

I ſhall therefore not deviate from my Purpoſe of ſhewing how little Liberty ſuch Contenders for Liberty procured for this Country, but conclude my Remarks on the well known Events of theſe Times, by ſaying, That thoſe who pretended at firſt only to reduce and bound the Power of the Crown, and curb him who had abuſed it, became themſelves, after they had deſtroy'd the King, ſuch intolerable Oppreſſors of the People, that they ſtraiten'd every Chain they pretended to looſe, and doubled every Evil they pretended to cure; and thus (according to *Rapin*) *one may with great Truth affirm, that* England *was never leſs free than during the long Parliament and the Adminiſtration of* Cromwell.

Such Exceſſes brought the Affairs of this Country into the utmoſt Confuſion, and that Confuſion ended in recalling from long Baniſhment *the Son of that Oppreſſor* whom *theſe Patriots* had depoſed.

Upon this Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second, all the Grievances complain'd of in his Father's Reign (or at leaſt the Source of them, which was arbitrary Power) were by Miracle only prevented from being again eſtabliſh'd in this Country, and even by Law.

For had it not been for the great and honeſt Miniſter, I have already men-tion'd, *my Lord Clarendon*; that faith-ful Servant to an ungrateful Maſter; that true Patriot and real Benefactor to an unthankful People, the Form of this Government had been entirely al-ter'd; the *Engliſh* had been for ſome time at leaſt as abſolute Slaves as the *Turks* or the *Perſians*, the King had had two Millions a Year ſettled upon him to defray all the Expences neceſ-ſary for the Support of his Government; Parliaments had been made uſeleſs, and conſequently laid aſide; whilſt the Regal Authority had been the ſole *legiſlative*, as well as principal *execu-tive* Power in this Country.

That

That this Oppoſition of *Lord Clarendon* to the ſervile Schemes of the *Tory-Reſtoration Men* of this Æra, was no Proof of his Love to his Maſter, tho' it was a great one of his Zeal for the Publick, was the way of reaſoning which the Enemies of this great Man made uſe of to deſtroy him, and which prevail'd at laſt with his unfeeling, blinded, and cruel Maſter to give him up and diſcard him. But in Truth this Conduct of *Lord Clarendon* was as much for the real Intereſt of the King as the People; He thought, and thought rightly, that it was the Intereſt of the King to have his Government eſtabliſh'd on that Foot which the Bent of the Nation would quietly ſubmit to, and not ſuch as they would be tempted afterward to reſiſt, from the ſame Motives that had before provoked Reſiſtance; he imagined from the Examples of *Charles* the Firſt, *Richard* the Second, *Edward* the Second, and *Harry* the Third, who had been ruin'd by graſping at abſolute

Power in this Country, that it was much more prudent for a King here to content himſelf with a bounded Authority which he might make permanent and ſecure; than to make his whole Authority precarious by trying to extend it beyond its proper Limits; which had in all Times made the People ſo uneaſy whenever it was attempted, that Rebellion and Civil-Wars had generally been the Conſequence of ſuch Plans and Meaſures.

When the *Ephori* were eſtabliſh'd in *Sparta*, by the Conſent of *Theopompus*, who then reign'd there; his Wife asked him if he ſhould not be aſhamed to leave the regal Authority to his Sons in a worſe Condition than he found it? to which he anſwer'd *he ſhould leave it in a better, as it would be more ſecure, in being more tolerable; and more permanent from being liable to fewer Abuſes.* Had *Lord Clarendon* been reproach'd for ſuffering any Boundary to be put to the Power of his Maſter, I dare ſay he would have return'd juſt ſuch an Anſwer.

And that this way of arguing in *Lord Clarendon* was ſalutary for the King, as well as becoming a Lover of his Country; the Effect of different Reaſonings and Meaſures in the next Reign plainly ſhew'd.

But to return to the Account I propoſed to give of the State of Liberty; I acknowledge there was by the upright Conduct of *Lord Clarendon* on the Reſtoration, for ſome time the dawning Appearance of Liberty in ſome wiſe and beneficial Laws that were then made; but this Dawning was ſoon overcaſt; other Meaſures were purſued; this witty Man, and ſilly King, was govern'd by his ſtill more ſilly Brother; and not only the Liberty but the Religion of the People was ſtruck at and invaded.

To theſe Domeſtic Grievances, was added the infamous Management of our foreign Affairs; the Parliament grew refractory on Account of both; and tho' for ſome time the *Duke of York* and the Parliament got the bet-

ter

ter alternately, yet at laſt the Duke's Scale prevail'd, and the King for the three laſt Years of his Reign, govern'd without calling any Parliament at all.

Had King *Charles* liv'd much longer, it is hardly to be doubted, from the Circumſtances in which we then were, but that the Government by Degrees had ſunk into the moſt abject State, and in all probability into abſolute Slavery: A vicious Court, a corrupt King, a profligate Nobility, no Houſe of Commons, the Growth of Popery, and the Decay of Spirit among the People, were Symptoms that ſeem'd to preſage the End of all Sort of Freedom being near at hand: But his weak, bigotted, impetuous Brother, not contented to let our Liberties die gradually of that chronical Malady under which he found them languiſhing, and by which they muſt at laſt have expired, grew in haſte for their Diſſolution, and by endeavouring to precipitate their Ruin, drew on his own. Nay, had he been ſatisfy'd with

with the total Subverſion of our civil Liberties, even that, I believe, he might have obtain'd; to that alſo perhaps he might ſubſequently have added the Subverſion of our religious Rights: but nothing would content this hot, injudicious Man, but doing both at once; and by aiming at both, he was prevented from accompliſhing either.

And as ſimple People will always do ſimple things, and in a ſimple manner; ſo the recent Example of King *Charles* the Firſt before his Eyes proved no Warning to deter King *James* from the like Practices; he proceeded to the ſame Violences without dreading the ſame Fate, and the incautious Son ſplit on that very Rock by which the Father had been ſhipwreck'd.

For as King *Charles* the Firſt had certainly carry'd all the conteſted Points of his Prerogative, had it not been for the injudicious Step he took with regard to the *Liturgy in Scotland*, which commenced a Rebellion there, that

that ſoon ſpread its contagious Nature here; ſo King *James*, had he ſuffer'd the Change he had a mind to make in our *Religion* to be poſtpon'd till what he contended for in *Prerogative* had been ſettled, I fear by degrees he had been able to compleat his whole Scheme; but by endeavouring to execute it all at once, he ruin'd himſelf, and involuntarily ſaved *the Conſtitution* which he had otherwiſe deſtroy'd.

From King *James* the Second's Baniſhment, Abdication, Depoſition, or whatever People pleaſe to call it, I date the Birth of real Liberty in this Kingdom, or at leaſt the Eſtabliſhment, if not the Commencement, of every valuable Privilege we now enjoy.

The *Bill of Rights* aſcertain'd all thoſe diſputable Points of Prerogative and Liberty, that had hitherto been inſiſted on either by the Crown or the People, juſt as the Power of the one, or the other, at different *Æra's*, had prevail'd.

For

For notwithſtanding *the Great Charter*, till this explanatory Renewal of it, or rather till this ſupplemental Ingraftment on the great Charter; the Bounds of Liberty and Prerogative were ſo indiſtinctly mark'd out, and ſo indeterminately known, that the Names of *Liberty* and *Prerogative* were made uſe of both by *Prince* and *People*, juſt as Opportunity favour'd the arbitrary Views of the one, or the licentious Diſpoſition of the other.

No body knew the juſt Degrees of either; Tyranny often wore the plauſible Title of the one, and Rebellion as often took the ſpecious Form of the other, according as Occaſions offer'd, and as the Temper and Circumſtances of the Times, gave handle and colour to favour the Schemes and Pretenſions of one or the other of theſe Exceſſes.

On the one hand the Prince had call'd every thing *his Prerogative* that his Ambition induced him to wiſh was ſo; every thing that his Reſolu-

tion made him attempt, or his Strength enabled him to acquire; every thing that either the Weakneſs of his People was obliged to ſubmit to, or their Servility was ready to allow.

On the other hand, whatever Encroachments were made by the People on the *Prerogative*, went under the Denomination of maintaining their Liberties; every Point they gain'd on the Crown, ſtimulated by their own Spirit and Vigor, or encouraged by the Indolence and Supineneſs of their Prince, was only call'd reviving former Rights, and aſſerting ancient Privileges; and thus both *King* and *People* were ever acting like thoſe two Parties deſcrib'd by *Davila*, who, jealous of each other, and mutually fearing Encroachments might be made upon them if they continued quiet, were always guilty of Injuſtice themſelves to avoid ſuffering it from others; *Come foſſe ſempre neceſſario o offendere o eſſere offeſſo; as if it was always neceſſary to injure, or be injur'd.*

The *Prince* and *People* in this Country were by theſe means formerly juſt in the ſame Situation, in which *Livy* deſcribes the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* of *Rome*; *who* (ſays he) *inſtead of being joint Supports to the Commonwealth, thought of nothing but how to impair the Strength of one another, till their mutual Jealouſies of each other, and their immoderate Deſire of preſerving their Rights, was the Cauſe that when either Party was prevalent, it employ'd its whole Power to oppreſs the other.*

The greateſt Misfortune therefore that can happen to a Country that is under a mix'd Government like ours, is to have the Diſtricts of the chief Parts of that Government ſo indiſtinctly known, that thoſe who ſhould be joint Adminiſtrators of the Good of the whole, are more concern'd about having the Power to adminiſter it, than about the Good itſelf; and are ſtriving for the one, when they ſhould be promoting the other.

To ſuch ſort of Contention (ſays *Machiaval)* is owing the Ruin of moſt States; *perche fra gli Huomine, parte deſidenando havere di piu, parte temendo di perdere l'acquiſtato, ſi viene alle inimicitie, alle contenzione, & alle Guerra, della qual naſce la Rouina di quella Provincia; becauſe one Party deſiring to gain, and another fearing to loſe what it has gain'd, Enmities are bred, Contention enſues, and then civil War, by which the Country is undone.*

As therefore no Government can be free but a mix'd Government, and no mix'd Government peaceable, but where the particular Juriſdictions are allotted, and the Bounds of each Part fully known and ſettled; ſo I think one may with great Truth and Juſtice affirm, this Government was never on ſo free and ſo deſirable a Foot, as after *the Bill of Rights* was paſs'd, and when the farther Limitations on the Crown by the Act of Settlement took place.

Thoſe

Thoſe therefore who ſay *our Government is founded on Reſiſtance*, and from thence infer that *Reſiſtance* and *Struggle* is the Situation in which the People in this Country, whether oppreſs'd or not, ought always to keep themſelves in order to preſerve their Liberties; are as great Enemies in my Opinion to this Conſtitution, at leaſt to the Peace of it, as thoſe who would adviſe the Crown, inſtead of maintaining its legal Prerogative, to be watching every favourable Opportunity to increaſe it; ſince the one muſt produce the other; and if that State of Contention between *King* and *People*, is the Point at which both theſe Doctrines muſt meet, it is pretty immaterial which End you begin at.

I deſire not to be miſunderſtood in this Point, or misinterpreted; I am far from contending for that infamous, ſervile, and unnatural Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance*; I know that every Bleſſing we now enjoy is owing to the exploding of that Doctrine, and to the acting contrary

contrary to its unreaſonable Maxims and ſlaviſh Tenets. When the People are injur'd, when they are oppreſs'd, when their Rights are infring'd, their Liberties invaded, and the Conſtitution hurt and wounded, let them reſiſt; it is their Intereſt, and it is their Duty to reſiſt; it is their Nature, it has been their Practice, and I hope ever will be ſo in that Caſe. But what I condemn is the general Doctrine of *Reſiſtance*, now ſo induſtriouſly preach'd and inculcated; and I do affirm, that if without any Allegation of Injury ſuffer'd, or Wrong attempted, this general Doctrine is to keep the People for ever on the Brink of Inſurrection and Rebellion; if it is at all Times to be preach'd to the People (tho' the Government be ever ſo duly adminiſter'd) if it is to operate equally under the beſt and the worſt King; I ſay it muſt tend to making the Prince and his People always act as natural and irreconcilable Enemies, who ſhould always act as natural and inſeparable

parable Friends; it muſt make them look on each others Intereſt, which ſhould always be mutually purſued, as oppoſite and incompatible Intereſts; it muſt ſow the Seeds of eternal Diſcord where Union only ſhould be cultivated; and *at this time* I am ſure, if this general Way of Reaſoning were to influence the Actions of the People, without any one juſt Pretence of Encroachment made by the Crown upon the People; it is opening a Gate to ſuch Strife and ſuch Confuſion, as in my Opinion would temporarly weaken each of them, and muſt finally conclude in the abſolute Ruin of one or the other; perhaps in the Ruin of both; by making way for *One*, who could have as little Chance otherwiſe to ſucceed in his long baffled Schemes and Pretenſions, as the People would have for their Liberties if in ſuch Confuſion he ever ſhould ſucceed.

To return to the Reign of King *William*, I allow it to be a Reign of Liberty, but it was alſo a Reign of Diſquiet

quiet both for him and his People; this Diſquiet was partly owing to the Ruffle every Government muſt ſuffer in ſo great a Change as a Revolution, (even tho' that Change is for the better) and to ſome Time being neceſſary to let ſuch Ferments ſubſide, before the Good which that Ferment conſequentially produces can be felt and enjoy'd. This Diſquiet was partly owing too, to the King himſelf, who tho' bleſt with admirable natural Parts, had an Impatience in his Temper, and an Inexperience of the *Engliſh* Nation, that hinder'd him from ruling with that Steddineſs in his Conduct, which more Experience wou'd certainly have taught him was neceſſary, and leſs Impatience in his Temper would have allow'd him to practiſe.

King *William* found himſelf in Difficulties, and by his Impatience conducted himſelf in thoſe Difficulties juſt as impatient People do when they are ſick, who try the Preſcriptions of every Phyſician, and by applying a Multitude

titude of Remedies give none the proper time to operate; and conſequently prevent that which might prove a Cure, with a fair Tryal, from ever doing them any Good.

His fluctuating Meaſures, his ſudden Changes from one Party to another, and his alternate Recourſe to the Aſſiſtance of *Whigs* and *Tories*, join'd to his fatal Miſtake of thinking, becauſe the *Tories* profeſs'd an Attachment to the Prerogative, and the Power of the Crown, that therefore they would ſupport him who they would not allow to have any Right to exerciſe the one, or wear the other; theſe were the Steps and Opinions that kept him during his whole Life in ſuch Perplexity and Uneaſineſs, that neither *He* nor his People taſted the Fruit of that Happineſs in his Reign which we now enjoy, tho' all the Seeds of it were then ſown.

For the farther Illuſtration of theſe Truths, and to avoid a minute Prolixity in this Paper, I muſt refer my

Readers to a Book publiſh'd laſt Year, which will confirm what I have advanc'd with regard to the Frequency of King *William*'s changing Hands, and the Effects thoſe Changes produced. As to the Principles of Non-Reſiſtance and maintaining the Prerogative of of the Crown, being Principles on which the Tories act only when they have a King of their own, I muſt appeal to *Rapin*, who ſays - *they always diſtinguiſh between a rightful and an actual King*; *and that their Behaviour in King* William's *Reign and the beginning of Queen* Anne's *compared with the latter End of it, plainly demonſtrated that they never acted on thoſe Principles for the Sovereign* de facto, *till the Sovereign* de facto *acted in a Manner that tended to the Reſtoration of him they call'd the Sovereign* de jure.

That no body may accuſe me of Partiality in my Account of Queen *Anne*, all the Comments I ſhall make on her Reign, ſhall be, by inſerting ſome

orthodox Extracts out of the *Craftsman*'s own political *Evangeliſt Rapin*. Theſe are his Words:

" Queen *Anne* had been educated " in the Principles of the moſt rigid " *Tories* with regard to Religion, and " according to all appearances in " thoſe of the moſt *extravagant To-* " *ries* with regard to Government. " Every body at leaſt who had any " Influence over *her*, or any Share " in her Education, had that Cha- " racter: Her Father King *James*, " her paternal Uncle King *Charles*, " and her maternal Uncle the Earl of " *Rocheſter*, were each of them of " ſuch Principles and Sentiments, as " hold all Oppoſition whatever to the " Will of a Sovereign to be abſolute " Rebellion. Queen *Anne* was natu- " rally obſtinate, and of a very bound- " ed Genius and Capacity. This lat- " ter Misfortune made it eaſy for Peo- " ple to conclude, that her Miniſters " would have a greater Share in her " Government than herſelf; and eve-

" ry one, but the higheſt *Tories* of " all, was conſequently apprehen- " ſive leſt the Prejudices of Parentage " and Education ſhould induce her " to put Lord *Rocheſter* at the Head " of Affairs, whom the whole World " look'd upon as a dangerous Man, " and capable of puſhing things to " the laſt Extremity.

" Theſe Apprehenſions in the Ma- " jority of the Nation prevented Lord " *Rocheſter* from being employ'd, and " the Queen was forced (I know not, " ſays *Rapin*, by what Intrigues) to " put herſelf into the Hands of Lord " *Marlborough*, Lord *Godolphin*, and " thoſe Men whom they recommend- " ed".

Rapin proceeds in giving great Encomiums to their Adminiſtration, and attributes " the Loſs of their Power " entirely to the perſonal Addreſs, " and political Dexterity of *one Lady* " being much ſuperior to that of ano- " ther,

" Imme-

" Immediately after the Victory of " *this Lady* was compleated, the *To-* " *ries* (ſays he) were employ'd; the " Parliament diſſolv'd, all Eccleſiaſti- " cal Diſputes were reviv'd, the *Preſ-* " *byterians* were ſhamefully perſecu- " ted, and the Populace made to be- " lieve that *the eſtabliſh'd Church was* " *in Danger.*

" Hitherto every thing went as the " new *Tory*-Miniſters could wiſh; " but they foreſaw that the chimeri- " cal Terrors they had ſcatter'd among " the People could not laſt, though " they had been of immediate Uſe, " and ſerv'd the preſent Purpoſe: Be- " ſides, tho' the Miniſters could have " kept the People warm, yet as the " *Queen*, who was very infirm, might " die, they knew, the Elector of *Ha-* " *nover*, who muſt ſucceed, if the " Act of Settlement took place, would " unrauel all they had been doing. " They ſet themſelves therefore im- " mediately to work, to guard againſt " this Danger without Loſs of Time;

" they

" they knew by the Experience of
" King *William*'s Reign, and the Be-
" ginning of Queen *Anne*'s, that their
" Party was too weak to ſuſtain itſelf
" with a *Sovereign* againſt them; and
" concluded therefore (if one may
" judge by their Conduct) that the
" only Security they could have, was
" in giving the Crown to the *Preten-*
" *der.*" *Rapin*, however, does not rank Lord *O - - - d* in the Number of thoſe who were in this Scheme.

" Thoſe who were in the Preten-
" der's Intereſt, he ſays, thought it
" abſolutely neceſſary to engage
" *France* on their Side; and to this
" End made that infamous and preci-
" pitate *Peace of Utrecht*, which a-
" ſtoniſh'd the whole World.

" In all probability (*Rapin* adds)
" if the *Queen* had liv'd much longer,
" *the Act of Succeſſion would have been*
" *repeal'd*, and the *Whigs* would have
" been obliged to call the *Elector of*
" *Hanover* to their Succour, as they
" had formerly done the *Prince of*
" *Orange*;

" *Orange*; tho' they would not (ſays " he) have had the ſame Proſpect of " the univerſal Concurrence of the " People in one Caſe as the other; " becauſe in the Caſe of King *James* " the Second, the Oppreſſions of his " Government were actually felt; " whereas thoſe of the *Pretender* " were only preſumptively apprehend- " ed." But here I differ from *Rapin*, having too good an Opinion of the Underſtandings of my Countrymen not to believe, that the certain Conſequences of the *Pretender's* coming here, would operate as ſtrongly on the Minds of the *Engliſh*, as the actual Violences of King *James*; that they would exert themſelves as ſtrenuouſly to prevent *theſe* Evils, as they did to cure *thoſe*; and no more ſuffer the *Pretender* to come, than they did King *James* to remain here.

" All that happen'd immediately " after the Acceſſion of King *George* " *the Firſt to the Throne*, (according " to *Rapin*) demonſtrably proved, " that

" that thoſe who govern'd in the
" latter Part of *the Queen*'s Reign, de-
" ſign'd to impoſe *the Pretender* on
" this Nation.

As to the Liberty then enjoy'd theſe are his Words: *Let any one reflect on the Meaſures purſued by Queen* Anne *in the laſt Years of her Reign; as for Example, on the manner on which the* Peace of Utrecht *was treated and concluded; the Twelve Peers created all at once, and the Violence committed in Elections; and no one can deny but theſe were ſo many Steps leading to* Deſpoticiſm *and in which ſhe was guided and ſupported by the* Tories. The Attempts made on *the Liberty of the Preſs*, and the religious Perſecutions in thoſe Days, are corroborative Circumſtances not mention'd by *Rapin*; but what ought not I think to have been omitted.

They are Circumſtances too which every Body ſhould carry in their Mind, whenever they make a Compariſon between the Regard a *Whig* and a *Tory* Admini-

Adminiſtration have always ſhewn to Liberty: And whoever examines, or reflects on the Conduct of a *Tory Adminiſtration* in this Country, or Men acting on *Tory* Principles, even before the Name of *Tory* was known; will find I believe that they have generally ſet out with a Plan to ruin the People, which has moſt commonly ended in the Ruin of themſelves, or the *Prince* that employ'd them, or *both*.

Having by this Deduction run thro' all the Reigns of the *Engliſh Kings* from the *Conqueſt* to the Acceſſion of *the preſent Royal Family* to the Throne, and given a curſory View of *the State of Liberty* in each of them, I come now to the Point at firſt propoſed, of examining whether the State of Liberty at preſent is ſo much impair'd as the *Opponents* to the Government are every Day affirming; and whether the *Prerogative* of the Crown is got to *that monſtrous Height* that ſome People endeavour to repreſent it.

In order to clear this Point I desire only to ask two Questions. Was the *Prerogative* of the Crown enlarg'd or limited by the *Act of Settlement?* And has *the King* comply'd with the Articles contain'd in the Act of Settlement, or has he asserted any Point of Prerogative not left to the Crown by that Act, or infring'd any Privilege reserv'd by that Act to the People?

And if it is indisputably true that the Crown was never bound by stronger Restrictions than in that Act, and as true that none of those Restrictions have been unobserv'd or evaded, with what Truth or Justice can these clamorous Inveighers against the Government complain of the present Decay of Liberty, or reproach the Prince upon the Throne with the least Infringement of any of the Rights or Privileges of his Subjects? In what one Particular can they find Proof for these Assertions, and how without Proof can they hope to find Credit for them?

Words it is certain may always be found to blacken and calumniate the faireſt Characters and the moſt upright Conduct; and as I will allow, that Words may alſo be found to varniſh over the worſt Actions, and ſoften the greateſt Faults; ſo upon this Occaſion, as upon all others, where Truth is ſought or diſcovered, let *Things* and *Facts* ſpeak for themſelves; and when they do ſo, they will always ſtamp their own proper, intrinſic Value, on the Opinion of the Bulk of Mankind, notwithſtanding the various Turns *Partiality* may give to them on one Hand or *Malice* on the other: For as the Groſs of the Nation and the Body of the People in general, who are to be benefited or prejudiced by the Conduct of thoſe who are at the Helm, will judge by *Facts* and what they ſee and feel, ſo it will be impoſſible for the Glare of Flattery long to dazzle them with a Repreſentation of Proſperity if they do not feel that Proſperity; nor can the moſt plauſible and

artful Inſinuations of Calumny and Detraction make them blind to Benefits if they really receive and enjoy them.

Notwithſtanding therefore the *faſhionable*, and general Accuſations of *Blunders* abroad, and *Corruption* at home; when the People of *England* do ſee and know, that thoſe *intricate, contradictory Treaties, thoſe Labyrinths of Negotiation*, (as our Tranſactions abroad have been *elegantly* call'd) thoſe injudicious Steps and Meaſures have been ſuch, that, whilſt the reſt of *Europe* is in Arms, and in Confuſion, *England* is in Peace and Proſperity; that theſe Treaties have been ſo made, that *England*, in the preſent Wrangles and Diſputes, is entirely at Liberty to chuſe for whom ſhe will act, or whether ſhe will act at all; that no one Point ſhe has drove at, with regard to her own Intereſt, is brought anew into Queſtion; that her Poſſeſſions abroad are unattack'd, and her Commerce ſo unrival'd, ſo unobſtructed,

and ſo flouriſhing, that the Imports and Exports were never higher, nor our Credit in greater Proſperity; when the People of *England* ſee and know that every Court in *Europe* (where the Opponents have repreſented us as mendicant and ſuing) is ſolliciting our Favour, and apprehending our Enmity; when they ſee every great Power as anxious for the Succeſs of their Miniſter's Applications to this Court, as for the Succeſs of their Generals in the Field; whilſt *England* makes this Figure in *Europe*, I have too good an Opinion of my Countrymen to believe that a few mercenary *Journaliſts* and teſty *Pamphleteers* will be able to perſuade them, that the Affairs of this Kingdom have been *blunderingly*, *ignorantly*, or *diſhoneſtly* conducted; or that our Negotiations for theſe late Years have brought us either into Contempt or Diſtreſs; nor can I imagine that the inflammatory Suggeſtions of repeated Libels will be able, againſt Demonſtration, to convince the Nation,

tion, that we have *a Prince on the Throne*, who wants either Abilities or Inclination to procure the Welfare of his Subjects; that he has been ill ſerv'd in thoſe Views, or that they have not ſucceeded.

With regard to *Corruption*, and the *Loſs of Liberty* at home; the Charge of the Opponents is juſt as well ſupported by Facts, or made out by Examples in theſe Points, as in the other.

In what Article has Liberty been infring'd? Was the *Power of Parliament* ever in greater Vigor? Was the Law ever more equitably adminiſter'd? Did Men of greater Abilities, or fairer Characters, ever preſide in the Courts of Juſtice? Were the Sentences and Deciſions of the Law, either in the firſt Trials, or in the extreme Reſort, ever leſs complain'd of? or was the Equity of the Legiſlature ever more unimpeach'd? Was there ever any Reign in which fewer Attempts were made to ſtretch the Bounds of the *Prerogative*, or fewer Abuſes made

of

of the *Prerogative* within its legal and proper Limits? Was there ever any Court where ſo few Employments were ever bought and ſold? or rather, Can there be one Inſtance given where Money has operated in the Diſtribution of Offices; where Favour has over-ruled Juſtice, or Money purchaſed Favour? Were Men of more Knowledge, of more exemplary Lives, and more unexceptionable Characters ever preferr'd in the Church? Was there ever any Court where Vice met with ſo little Encouragement from the Countenance ſhown to it, or ſo little Juſtification by Example? Was there ever any Court ſo juſt, ſo punctual, and ſo exact in all its Payments? Was there ever in any Court more proper Grandeur and Dignity kept up, or more Order and Decency obſerv'd? And let any Man, who knows the Prince upon the Throne, and will ſay what he knows, declare if ever it was fill'd by *One*, who look'd more minutely into every Matter relating to his

his high Station, the Welfare of his People, and national Concern; or one who paid a more inviolable Regard to Truth in all his Words, or to Juſtice in all his Actions. Nor will the Equity of future Times refuſe to confirm this Truth, how unwilling ſoever the Ingratitude of ſome of our Cotemporaries makes them to allow, what they may deny, but cannot diſprove. *Suum cuique decus Poſteritas rependit.*

This being the true Situation, and ſuch the happy Condition of this Country at preſent, I would be glad to ask the Enemies to his Majeſty's Government, the Aſperſers of his Adminiſtration, and the Deluders of his People; if they were to chuſe throughout the whole Hiſtory of *England*, from the firſt Inſtitution of Government in this Iſland, what Period of Time they would pick out, for the Circumſtances of which they would be glad to exchange the Circumſtances of the preſent Times?

If

If they can find none; and if it is farther viſible, after all the Threats and Menaces thrown out, the Beginning of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, with every Subject open to the Diſquiſition of Parliament, that no one particular Charge either of Neglect or Guilt has been exhibited againſt any Man concern'd in the Adminiſtration of the Government, how are we to account for all the Clamour and Complaint ſo indefatigably propagated, and ſo artfully fomented all over the Kingdom? The Way I ſhall account for it, and the only way I think it can be accounted for, is in the Manner that *Rapin* accounts for the Proceedings of the *ſame Party* upon another Occaſion. And as I cannot put his Reflexion into better Words than his own; here they are.

Ce ne ſont pas donc tous les Anglois qui doivent porter le Blame de ces Diviſions denaturées, mais ſeulement ceux qui les fomentent pour leur interêt, par-

ticuliers: ce ſont les Chefs qui, pour leur propre interêt, ſeduicent le pauvre People, & qui ne ſe ſout point de Scrupule de l'engager dans le Riſque d'une Guerre civile.

It is not then all the Engliſh *who ſhould bear the Blame of theſe unnatural Diviſions, but only Thoſe who foment them for their own private Intereſt; thoſe Heads of the Party, who to purſue their own Intereſt ſeduce the poor People, and make no Scruple of risking to engage the Kingdom in a civil War.*

I ſhall add nothing more to this Paper, but to ask *the People*, Who are then the propereſt Men to be intruſted with the Care of their Fellow-Subjects, Thoſe who would fill them with falſe Fears of the Civil-Government, and expoſe Them to the real Dangers of a Military-Government; or Thoſe who have been ſo watchful over the true Intereſt of this Country, as to preſerve the Conſtitution in its ancient Form againſt

againſt all Attacks to undermine it? And whether it is to be imagined, that thoſe who have ſhewn ſo little Regard to the Intereſt of the People when *out* of Power, would have much more Regard to it if they were *in*? Or having abuſed the People in order to acquire Power, whether it is reaſonable to think they would abuſe them leſs, when they would have the Means in their Hands of abuſing them more?

F I N I S.